

A  
Philosophical Dissertation  
Upon the INLETS to  
HUMAN KNOWLEDGE;  
IN A  
LETTER  
FROM A  
GENTLEMAN in the COUNTRY  
TO HIS *Philosopher*  
*K*  
FRIEND at LONDON.



L O N D O N;

Printed for T. COOPER at the *Globe* in *Pater-*  
*Noster Row.* MDCCXXXIX: Price 1s.

Philosophical Dissertation

Upon the Insects

HUMAN KNOWLEDGE

IN A

LETTER

FROM A

GENTLEMAN in the COUNTRY

TO HIS



FRIDAY



LONDON

Printed for T. Cooper at the Claw in Paternoster Row.  
Price 1s.



A

## Philosophical Dissertation

Upon the INLETS to

## HUMAN KNOWLEDGE.

DEAR SIR,

**I**T was not from any Want of Zeal to comply with your Desires, that I hesitated for some Time in promising to lay before you in Writing, what I had said to you t'other Morning over a Dish of Tea, about the Inlets of Knowledge to the Human Mind, much less was it mere Indolence, and Aversion from the Trouble of Writing what I had talked over; for the whole Matter may be stated by naming the several Inlets, or at most by just hinting at the different Kinds of Notices which arrive at the Mind by the different Avenues leading to it. Though I own, at the same Time, that this Subject may be extended to what Length and Bulk one pleases, so as to take in every Part of Learning, every Thing known or knowable; and, to own the Truth frankly, here lay, here lyes the Difficulty with me, how to handle a Question, which I am amazed should ever be made one, and that every Man

B

living

living does not agree in all the real Ways of his coming at Knowledge, and that all other Men necessarily came by theirs in the same Manner, whatever Variety there may be, or different Degrees, as well in the several Sciences as the Proficiency of those who study them; nor can I conceive any other Hypothesis how it should be so, unless Men imagine it unlawful to inclose Commons, and that every where else as well as in Parnassus, *difficile est proprie communia dicere*; or that they overlook and despise what lyes always before them and under their Feet, and gaze about for something sublimely raised above the common Reach and View. What else could possibly have brought innate Ideas on the Stage, if indeed any among the Ancients ever held them in the Sense in which Mr. *Locke* has overthrown them? The Ancients meant no more by their *Κοινὰς Εννοιας*, than such clear Axioms as must be assented to as soon as laid before, and considered by a reasonable Mind; and whether a Number of Moderns, considerable enough to have made it a Sort of Principle worth attacking, ever held innate Ideas as produced by Mr. *Locke*, is more than I am Critick enough to determine; but whether it was a Giant of Straw dressed up by others, or by the Man who has hacked it to Pieces, it is effectually slain, and a Trophy erected with its Spoils.

It is now Time to introduce Mankind into the World, and such Parts of it into his Acquaintance

ance as are to make up his Property in Knowledge, in whose Realms there is a much greater real Difference and Disproportion between their several Acquisitions than in their Possessions of any other Species of Dominion or Wealth. For after all the imaginary Enjoyments of mighty Empires, the thousandth Part of which the Monarch never beheld, and of vast Treasures, of which he can only use his own personal Dividend either of Food, Lodging, or Raiment, and if he attempts to enlarge his Wants artificially, to have the Privilege of supplying them with all the Contrivances of Luxury, he does but waste and consume both, and finds his Pleasure, Health, and even Wealth too, run away in the vain Pursuit: Whereas in the Fields of Knowledge, one Man may, and some actually do accumulate the Portions of many Thousands, and the more such an One collects the more he enjoys every Part of it, each Addition giving new Strength and Beauty to what he had before; but in both Kinds there are Misers to be found, who hoard up without any View of Use or Communication, though in the Exercise of Wealth consists its real Pleasure as well as Worth; and that in Science one can't be a Spendthrift, but the more he bestows on others, the more he improves his own Stock.

I have long thought that in most Cases, and you seemed to agree with me in this Instance, Truth is not only discovered but proved by a bare State of the Fact, by just tracing

the Methods which Nature either takes or requires in her Actions, and how far her full Growth and Capacity of Knowledge does or may be made to extend.

We bring our Senses and some of our Instincts, at least, into the World with us; a new-born Infant stares at a Candle and starts at a Noise, and none can doubt but the mixt Appetite between Thirst and Hunger for its Nurse's Breast is as sharp in it, as either of them are at any Time afterwards, when they come to be split into two very indifferent ones for solid and liquid Food, when they become necessary for a larger Body, and stronger Constitution, fit for vigorous Exercise or hard Labour.

I must obviate one Objection, or at least clear my Notion from a Mistake, which some may be apt to make, as if Hunger, Thirst, and all the other Instincts were only Sensations, and so not to be distinguished from the Senses and their Ideas. But till I come to treat of the Instincts by themselves, it shall suffice to observe here, that Ideas of Sensation are raised by the Presence of the Objects, and the Impressions made by them on the respective Senses; so that there cannot possibly be a negative, infinite, speculative, abstracted, general, partial, consequential or future Idea of actual Sensation; for an Idea of Sensation must be direct, immediate and present; whereas these strong Appetites are excited often by the Absence, always by the Want of the Object, whose Application



cation never fails to prorogue the Appetite till another Call of Nature for its Return. But if the impulsive Appetite for Food cannot be rescued from being only a mere Idea of Sensation, we must reckon Hunger, Thirst, and Taste to be the self-same Thing, and synonymous Terms for one another; but sure the Dog's eating Grass when he is sick, the *Ibis*, and many other Instances, from whence Physicians have learned many Things and Surgeons more, we may be allowed to range under the Class of Instincts. Every Bird, every Insect, the Beaver and many other Kinds are better Architects than many Nations both ancient and modern, who arrive no farther than a miserable Cabin, and others, as *New Guinea* and *New Holland*, who do not rise so high. Nay Nations have lost it and recovered it, as *Italy*, others, as *Egypt* and *Greece*, who long excelled in Architecture, have lost it intirely, without Hope or Desire of recovering it. Nothing that is natural was ever lost, whatever is capable of Loss or great Alteration is artificial, and as it was introduced by Instruction, and continued by Culture, so it died on the ceasing of either of these, on its Parent or Fosterer's withdrawing. Besides, aversive Instincts or natural Antipathies, which are absolutely necessary for the Preservation of all the brute Species to seek their proper Food and avoid Poison, cannot justly be called Ideas of Sensation. But above all, is it not absurd to reckon that irresistible

Storge



Storge, which is so powerful as to make the Hare expose itself between the Dog and its young Brood, and the Hen to retire last from the Kite, only an Idea of Sensation? Of which Sense is it the Idea? But perhaps they will call this last a Passion not an Appetite; let them do so; the animal Passions are as much Instincts as the Appetites, and as necessary for the Support of the several Species in which they are placed, and all of them equally prior and consequently foreign to Instruction and Culture, as likewise different from Ideas of Sensation. And were it any Part of our present Business we might take notice of the absurd Rant of the Stoics with their Apathy, which, besides the Impossibility of it, would be incompatible with the Subsistence or Life of the Animal, whose Nature and Welfare is provided for by answering the true final Cause of its Instincts. There have been little Pretenders to Refinement, who have reduced the Senses to one, and made the other four only different Modifications of Feeling; another, with equal Wit, will multiply the Senses into as large a Number, as ever you please, or can find Words to express, and make every Act of Approbation or Dislike which either the Mind or Body can exert, to be a different Sense; in which Case all the Languages in the World could not furnish us with Terms enough to call the hundredth Part of them by, such an infinite Number of Tastes (another very equivocal Word) could never be supplied with

with Names to distinguish them all cleverly from one another; how luxuriant are some Men's Fancies? How hard it would be to determine which of these Men of Genius deserved the Bays?

For the first Year of human Life, the Child sees, without much heeding them, the several Objects about it, but for its Food, which is necessary for its Subsistence, Nature has furnished it with a most sharp Instinct, which will neither let it nor its Nurse forget its Wants by the Language of crying, which proclaims them. After a few Months Children begin to laugh and shout, and utter the several inarticulate Voices, which express the several Instincts of Joy, Pain, Sorrow, Fear, &c. which, by the by, are the same among all the many Myriads of Men who ever have lived, or ever shall live, in all the Ages and Nations of the World, and these constitute the only natural Language; for Words must be acknowledged for artificial and arbitrary Signs of Things, whether sensible or speculative, but with this Difference, that they are declarative of the first, and introductive of the second, as I shall soon prove. And whether Children could ever acquire this artificial Language, without Pains taken with them, and repeated Culture, we need not run to *Herodotus* for *Psammeticus's* Project, nor to *Purchas* for the same tried much later by *Ecbar* the Great *Mogul*, of having Children bred up by Mutes, to find out what

3      Language

Language they would speak ; both which Experiments ended, as they necessarily must, in their not speaking any : Let us but consider how we were taught and how we teach our Children to speak and know, and we shall find how the Matter stands, as well as if we knew all that has passed in every Age and Climate of the World.

At about a Year old Children begin to call their Parents by two Words, which have been repeated to them many thousand times before they could retain them, or get their Tongues to form their Sounds. For a few Years more, they are taught the Names of such Things as they usually see or are conversant about, and when they are learned a competent Number of them, they are taught to affirm and deny, which is a little Essay towards Grammar, and forming a Proposition, for it is the Copula which gives a determinate Signification and connects the Subject and Predicate into a Meaning, Words being otherwise loose and of no Relation to Knowledge of any Kind ; and therefore the first Thing which Children generally are, or possibly can be taught, that looks towards Science, or what is called Morals, is the Nature of Yes and No, with the Difference between Truth and a Lie. As Children improve in their Stock of Words and the Use of them, other Things are taught them, even all the Sciences according to the different Degrees of Capacity, Opportunity, the Diligence of Teachers and their own.

Now

Now, Dear Sir, I have laid the three Inlets of human Knowledge before you, and might therefore break off here, for I can't help thinking, that as it does to me, so it must appear to every one who will consider the Fact as it really lyes in the Order of Nature; and if I am to go on and prove what I imagine to be self-evident, where shall I stop? What Mediums shall I search for by which to prove it? But since you put me under a Necessity of doing it, for such you tell me there is, to remove the common Prejudice against any Thing that pretends to call in Question the Sufficiency of Mr. *Locke's* Principle of Ideas of Sensation, for the sole Harbinger as well as a Magazine of human Knowledge, I must submit to it; and besides many Reasons which appear unanswerable to me, I will undertake to close this Letter, with the Testimony of Mr. *Locke* himself, full to my Point, in many Passages of that very celebrated Essay concerning the Human Understanding, in which he has endeavour'd to establish the Senses in the rightful and sole Possession of furnishing the Mind with all that it is capable of receiving.

I own I cannot conceive how any Thing can be produced by all possible Combinations or Divisions of Ideas of Sensation, but single, compound or split Ideas of Sensation, *Entia rationis* of all Sorts and Sizes, if indeed the Mind would ever, or ever could divert itself with that idle Sport of Imagination, had not Language convey'd some Notions into it before, and taught



it how to consider Subjects in whole and in part, how to join, divide, &c. Try this in your own Mind, and whether you can make any Thing out of Ideas of Sensation but Ideas of Sensation; in order to which make this other Experiment, whether you can revolve an Idea of Sensation in your Mind without Words; yes, you can, for you received it without the Mediation of Words, which were so far from being necessary to convey it to you, that all the Words in the World cannot convey a new, original Idea of Sensation to any Person; the Case of Colours to a blind Man has been instanced much oftener than there have been blind Men, Sounds to the Deaf, &c. All that Words signify as to mere Ideas of Sensation is, that two Persons conversing together, who have learn'd the Words appointed to stand for such Things, the naming the Term refers the other to his own Memory for that Idea formerly known to him; which, if it were not, all the Philosophers and Orators in the Universe could not convey it to him. Now try again, whether you can make a Syllogism in your own Mind without Words, or even affirm or deny the plainest and most simple Thing in Nature, viz. *Man is*, or, *Man is not capable of Speech and Reason*, both which must be taught him, the last by Means of the first; or, which is the same Thing, he will not be able to make any Use of his Reason, which will lye in such close Abeyance to his Animal Instincts, that neither he himself nor any Body else, will  
ever



ever find out that he has any, without Instruction in, and by Language; for Culture by Speech is necessary to give us an authentick Title to our Reason, to put us in Possession of it, as well as to enable us to make Use of it, by teaching us how to do so. If this then be so, as in Fact I find it is, he who informs another may be properly said to think aloud to him, and he, who ruminates on what he has learn'd, may as properly be said to whisper to himself. And this makes me lament, that I did not consider this Matter thirty Years ago, when I was in an Age, tho' hardly ever in a Situation fit for Study, that I might have shorten'd the Time, if not have lessen'd the Fatigue of learning a new Language, by confining myself to think in it as soon as I had got a tolerable List of Words by Heart. But this I may venture to affirm, that it cost *Cato* more Time and Pains to learn his Latin in the first Years of his Life, than Greek at Fourscore; that it was the same with *Mithridates* and all his Languages, and that every Scholar and Traveller learns the Language of another Age or Country in much less Time, and with much less Pains, than that which is call'd their Mother-Tongue.

Formerly, Men born deaf were dumb of Course, and in the Courts of *Asiatick* Princes, where such are entertain'd in great Numbers, they are always call'd Mutes, as if the Defect lay in their Organs of Speech instead of those of Hearing. But then these Mutes were taught a

visible Language by Signs, in which they can converse, and even recount Histories and every other Subject of Discourse ; I can't help giving you a remarkable Quotation from the latter End of the second Section, first Chapter and fourth Book of *Pufendorf. de Jure Naturæ et Gentium.* Add. *Lucianus de Saltatione, ubi memoratur exemplum Saltatoris, fabulam de Adulterio Martis et Veneris ita saltando exprimentis* (by the by, the ancient Dancing was altogether historical, thus *Cicero* accuses *Clodius* --- *quod Glaucum saltasset,* and an old Greek Epigram, commending an excellent Dancer, says, that she seem'd to be the very Persons represented by her, and transform'd as they were *Ζυλιν@ ως Δαφνη, λιθινος ως Νιοβη.*) *ut narrare videretur ; quem dein Barbarus quidam a Nerone petiit, ut sibi Interpretis vice esset* --- *Sic Dominus de Sancy, Legatus Gallicus in Turcia, retulit se vidisse duos Mutos, unum Natione Turcam, alterum Persam, sed qui se mutuo intelligere non possent, quod adversis Signis et Gestibus uterentur, tunc repertum fuisse tertium Mutum, qui istis loco Interpretis inservire poterat.* About an hundred Years ago, *Velasco* the Constable of *Castile's* Brother was taught to speak, tho' born deaf and continuing so, by making him observe and practise the Motions which his Teachers made with their Tongue and Lips ; and I have seen some Instances of Persons so taught to speak, and use properly a great many Words, and by being taught to read and write, they might have been able to master more than one

one Language. About twenty or thirty Years after this Instance of *Velasco*, which was the first, as I take it, of the Kind, Doctor *Wallis* found out a Way of making some Persons hear, whose Ears were closed, or otherwise incapable of receiving Sounds, by shaving the Top of the Head, applying the Mouth to the Angle where the Sutures of the Skull meet, and speaking with a loud Voice, and by that Method taught them to speak likewise. But that was done by removing their Deafness in some Measure, and reaching the Nerves of Hearing by another and new Road, and is altogether different from the Language of the *Asiatick* Mutes, which is independent both of the Ears and Tongues of the Speakers. And as all these Methods are artificial and taught, they equally prove my Position, that every Language, and every Way of uttering it is adventitious, that all Hieroglyphicks and Representations of Words are but different Kinds of Writing, therefore Words are as necessarily older than their Pictures, as every Original is before its Copy, as they are in every particular Man prior to his speculative Thoughts, they having been convey'd to him in that Vehicle; thus a deaf Man may be taught to see Thoughts in Words, and a blind Man to hear them, therefore these two are most justly term'd the Senses of Discipline. Now, Sir, give me Leave to consider Nations and their Acquisitions in Science, as I have done it in particular Men,

as

as *Florus* has drawn his Epitome of the *Roman History* by the Periods of Man's Life.

All those Nations, of whom we have authentick Accounts within the Historical Age, furnish us with the Arrival of Arts and Sciences among them. *Thucydides* owns *Greece* to have been long barbarous, and we are sufficiently inform'd, that it was as much so as either ancient *Thrace* or modern *Tartary*, till *Tbales* the *Milesian* brought Literature and Civility among them from *Ionia* and the East. *Macedon* was look'd on as barbarous long after the *Muses* had settled at *Helicon*, and *Minerva* at *Athens*. At two Periods the *Greeks* brought the Arts Westward, both Times by their own Misfortune. *Horace*, frankly acknowledges that *Grecia capta ferum Victorem cepit et Artes intulit agresti Latio*; and indeed he could not deny it, for in every Part of Learning as well as Poetry, besides their running *ad Athenas Atticas*, the constant Rule was *Exemplaria Greca nocturna versare manu versare diurna*. *Samos* and afterwards *Rhodes* produced many more learned Men for some Centuries, than are to be found in *Greece*, *Egypt*, and all the Provinces of *Asia* and *Africa*, where the Arts once flourish'd so triumphantly, and from whence Colonies of Literature were sent out to stock the rest of the World. *India* had its *Gymnosophists*, *Persia* its *Magi*, and every *Scythian* might have been a Philosopher as well as *Anacharis*, who would have gone in Quest of it, and kept



kept the same Company that he did. *Egypt* had two very long Periods of Glory in the Sciences; the first for some Ages under their old Monarchs, the second begun by the *Ptolemies*, and which lasted, with great Variety in its Degrees of Lustre, till the Caliph *Omar* entirely extinguish'd it, in the Destruction of that immense Treasure of learning the *Alexandrian* Library. *Cyrene* in *Lybia* afforded Men of Figure in the Sciences, and *Arabia* shone in Learning as in Arms for a Century or two; their Progress in both was rapid, but soon stopt short; and no Doubt there were Men of Learning in *Barbary*, who bore some Proportion to that noble Collection of Books in the Library of *Fez*, made by their great *Almansor*, who proceeded on Principles entirely different from the mad Enthusiasm of *Omar*. I do not doubt but *Portugal* and *Muscovy* will vie with other Nations in the Sciences, which they are now setting up; for they will grow in any Soil, will thrive under every Climate where they are propagated with equal Care.

That Part of *Europe* and *Africa* which constituted the *Roman* Empire after its Division into two, was to be civilized a second Time; the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Huns*, and many other hard Names of our barbarous *Scythian* Ancestors, had defaced almost every Monument they found of *Greece*, *Rome* or Humanity; and they were hardly quite tame (as the perpetual little Wars, Feuds and Massacres, between all the noble Families



milies in *Italy*, *France*, *Germany*, and, in short,  
 every Country over which the Northern Inun-  
 dation prevail'd, sufficiently evidence ) when the  
 taking of *Constantinople* by *Mahomet* the Great,  
 sent *Greece* again to reclaim the Western *Eu-  
 rope*. *Matthias Corvinus*, King of *Hungary*, re-  
 ceived their learned Men and Books with open  
 Arms, and founded that noble Library at *Buda*,  
 which fell with the City into the Hands of the  
*Turks*, was by them carried away, and after a  
 long Abode in *Turkey*, was restored to the Em-  
 peror by a Peace ; and tho' of all Furniture  
 Books are most apt to suffer and be dropt on  
 every Removal, yet so many of them remain, as  
 to make that of *Vienna* one of the best Libra-  
 ries in *Europe*. The *Medicis* soon after did the  
 same at *Florence*, as far as the wealthiest private  
 Family in the World could go ; and *Leo* the  
*tenth* of that House gave them all Encourage-  
 ment and good Reception at *Rome*. The *Pala-  
 tine* Family ransack'd all *Germany* for Books to  
 make the largest Collection at *Heidelberg*, which  
 was then known to be any where, and which  
 is now the chief Glory of the *Vatican*. *Francis*  
*the first*, whose Character was Vanity and Am-  
 bition, was told that it was no ill Road to Fame,  
 to get Authors to speak well of one, and there-  
 fore Learning made its Way into *France* too in  
 his Time, and under his Patronage. No Man  
 ever did more to begin it in any Country, than  
 Cardinal *Ximenes* did in *Spain*, by his Encou-  
 ragement to Men of Learning, his splendid  
 Edition

Edition of the King of *Spain's* Polyglot Bible, his building and endowing the University of *Alcala des Henares*, &c. but it has stood stock still ever since. If *Greece* or *Egypt* were to be restored to Dominion, they must send to their Scholars in the West, to repay them Part of that Learning their Forefathers borrow'd from their's, and they must beg Schoolmasters from the Posterity of their former Pupils. I shall say very few Words about our own Country. *Julius Cæsar* found us in savage Circumstances enough, but the *Roman* Arts were planted here with as good Success as in any other Colony; and *Agricola* had hardly reduced the whole Island, when, as *Juvenal* tells us, *de conducendo loquitur jam Rhetore Thule*, so fast did Politeness travel among them; thus it continued at the same Pitch, till the *Saxons* extirpated or ravaged all, and gave us nothing in their Stead, but a Set of independent Rules and Customs, to which mere Prescription has given the venerable Name and Force of Laws among us. No Body ever imagined that the *Lurdan* mended any Thing; every Peasant in the Nation can tell Stories of the *Danish* Tyranny, can account for the Original of pledging the Friend who drinks to him; and a Massacre of all the *Danes* in one Night, whether true or false, is equally the Tradition of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. And yet *Denmark*, since that Time, has produced two or three pretty good Scholars, and with the Help of *Iceland*, near half a Score. Nor is *Lap-*  
D *land*

land too cold for the Sciences, as both *Olaus Rudbeck* the Father and Son witness: The first was not satisfied to produce himself as an Instance of it on any other Subject, unless he suborned an huge Deal of Learning to depose in three whole Folios, that *Scandinavia* was the original Glebe, where the first Men and the Golden Apples of the *Hesperian* Gardens grew, with guardian Dragons; in these hyperborean Regions, he says, we must look for the true Sight of the famed *Atlantick* Territory, and find the Pillars of *Hercules* at the Mouth of the *Sound*. The second has bestow'd a good large *Quarto* call'd *Nora Samolad*, to shew that the *Lappish* Tongue can be traced up to and lodged in the *Hebrew*, and that the Country is, at this very Day, the most comfortable Portion of the Globe to dwell in, as producing much honefter Men, and better Strawberries than the finest Parts of *Italy*; that there is not so much as a Lawyer in the whole Province. I own, I should be apt to choose that as the most agreeable Country to live in, which offer'd me a Neighbourhood made up of the wisest and worthiest Men in the World, in Spite of Soil, Climate, and all that Mr. *de Maupertuis* and his Brother Astronomers can say about their dismal Winter at *Tórnea*; and, if *Olaus Rudbeck* the Younger can prove his Point as to the great Worth of the Inhabitants, I will much more readily take his Word for *Lapland's* being Paradise now, than all his Father's Erudition that it was so about six thou-

thousand Years ago. From the *Normans* we received no good Thing but the long Bow. Conquest and Oppression may prove but temporary Evils, they often wear out, and every Almanack tells us, that the *Saxon* Line was restored in *Henry the second*; but whether the tedious Forms, and intricate Chicane of the *Norman* Pleadings, have not been for so many hundred Years, and still continue a most grievous Yoke of Bondage on the Neck of Justice, I refer myself to the Speeches and Proceedings in Parliaments ever since, in order to redress some of them.

When Learning was dealing out among the Nations, when it was reputable and even beneficial to have it, we took our Share among the rest, and kept it a good While; but I have been hearing some learned Men say, for these forty Years past, that it is going off our Stage faster than ever it came on, and I profess I can't help thinking that I perceive something of it myself, insomuch that I have now and then some splenetick Fits on that Score; therefore I intreat you to inform me, in this Distance that I am from all that belongs to Letters, whether there remain any tolerable Hopes that our Universities will be able or inclined to stand their Ground, and make Head for any Time against the boisterous Attacks of Ignorance and Malice from so many Quarters.

But this we can demonstrably gather, from the Progress of Learning among the different



ferent Nations of the World, that there is as direct a Traffick for Science, as for any other Commodity or Manufacture; and in every Country, where History has been tolerably preserved for any Time, we can trace the Country from whence, the Time when, and the Names of the Persons who imported those Sciences among them; and, as in *England*, point out the several Periods of the Introduction, Progress, Declension, Death and Revival of Literature among them. And, I think, it would be a good Piece of Criticism to determine the original Climate of Literature, and assign its proper Longitude and Latitude, which, perhaps, it would not be impossible to do, by tracing the Exportation and Importation of Sciences, Languages and Customs, from one Nation to another. And if Eastern, Western, Northern and Southern Nations did agree (in such Sort of historical Memorials as they happen to have transmitted down to them) on any central Country, whence these Things claim'd their Extraction, however they came to spring up there, it would be no uncurious Point gain'd in the antiquarian Way, and would be, at least, an amusing Question solved as to the Chronology and Geography of Arts and Sciences. I will alter my Opinion, and not till then, when I meet with a Man who speaks a Language he never heard, was taught or studied, or a Nation where Learning grows up of it self, without sowing, planting and daily Culture. If Knowledge were the spontaneous

Growth



Growth of the Soil, it would spring up in every Nation, tho' with ever so different Crops, as of *Egypt* or *Sicily* for Corn, in Respect of *Sweden* or *Norway*; no Nation could be quite destitute, nor could any ever lose it, nor do I see how any particular Man could be utterly ignorant; the very Term, Learning, shews how we came by our Knowledge, whatever it is. I shall certainly think myself in the right, while *Charlemagne*, *Alfred*, and other Founders of learned Seminaries continue in some Vogue, while Professors are entertain'd in them, and any of our Youth sent to Schools and Colleges to improve their Faculties therein. And if the deep Learning of the Bench, and most copious Eloquence of the Bar, bear any Proportion (as no Doubt they do) to the many magnificent Inns built for their Service, near <sup>7</sup>twenty, I think, for Attorneys, beside the ~~three~~<sup>4</sup> grand ones of Court, Doctor's Commons, &c. --- Neither the *Lyceum*, *Stoa*, nor all the Academies of *Greece* and *Rome* ever sent out such Armies of Students, sufficient to conquer by downright Force all the Transgressors in any Nation, if their wonderful Prowess were once intirely directed that Way, their Forces united, all their Troops retain'd on the same Side, under the Conduct of some future *Lycurgus*.

Let us now cast our Eyes over these three different Inlets [the Senses, the Instincts and Language] which convey Notices to us, and see what each furnishes us with for our Use.

Ideas

Ideas of Sensation furnish the Brutes, and altogether untaught Men with Objects of Use only to their Instincts, to enable them to exert those for their personal Preservation, to provide them with the Means of Subsistence, and to avoid Dangers; and of this Truth the *New Holland* and *New Guinea* Savages are as evident a Proof, as any other Species of mere Animals. To the instructed Man they afford a vast Quantity of Materials to exercise Knowledge on, but without being taught that Knowledge to apply them to artificial Purposes, they would signify no more to us, besides assisting the Instincts to take Care of that Body they were planted in, than vast Woods and Quarries of Marble in a Country would furnish it with Fleets, Palaces and Cities, without Workmen to fashion them, and Architects to put them into their respective beautiful Orders. *Michael Angelo* used to say, that a Statuary was a Man who only pared off Superfluities, since every Block of Marble contained in it all possible Forms; but without a *Phidias*, a *Praxiteles* or a *Michael Angelo* himself, the Marble will lye for ever a rude shapeless Mass in its Quarry. Some have said that the human Mind contained within it the Seeds of all the Sciences; the Mind is indeed a Soil in which any of these Seeds may be sown, but it must be cultivated; and without an Husbandman it will continue a mere *Tabula rasa*, except what the Instincts write on it without a Possibility of astronomical, geogra-

geographical or other learned Observations, let the Savage stare ever so much about him, and gaze up to the Skies all Night long, for the Stars are mere sensible Objects to the Brute and unlearned Man, as the Moon to a Dog who only barks at it, or an ignorant Traveller, who neither does nor can consider it farther than as he has Occasion for its Light: But to the natural, moral and metaphysical Philosopher, all these become intelligible Species, scientifick Objects, and afford Matter for great Variety and Depth of Learning. At present I require and will use no other Proof, than to desire any one to cast his Eyes and Observation on the ancient *Athens* and modern *Setines*, both as to Men and Buildings.

The Instincts as to mere animal Life might be dispatched in a Line or two, they being only sharp, involuntary Impulses stimulating every living Creature to provide for its individual Preservation and the Continuance of its Species. And as these two Views constitute their whole final Cause, we see, that thorough Savages, as the *New Guinea* and *New Holland* naked unspeaking Ones, and the mere Animals hardly, if ever, outrun or pervert them, for they are their only Principle of Action, and from which they cannot deviate. But if you consider them in the improved, artificial Life, they include as spacious Fields of Science as the Senses do, and of much greater Importance to our social Interest and Commerce. They in-

gross one large Branch of Philosophy, about what else are all the Laws and civil Politics in the World conversant? What is History but the Description of what strange Work the Passions of Princes and their Ministers have cut out for Mankind? *Historia Stultorum Regum & Populorum continet æstus*. From the Siege of *Troy* to that of *Granada*, and both before and since, more States have been ruined by the vicious Passions of Princes than by their Incapacity, and the Ambition of Conquerors.

Whoever would rightly account for the Growth and Declension of Empires must search into the moral Causes of them. *Sparta* furnishes us with incontestible Instances of this Truth at two Periods, which I call the two Miracles of History; first, that *Lycurgus*, who was but a temporary Executor of half the royal Authority, should be able to persuade the other King, and the whole Body of the Citizens to let him new-model their Polity, and begin by making a Present of all their Wealth both real and personal to the Publick (for that was the *Spartan* Oeconomy, they lived in Community as you do in Colleges, and the Estates belonged to the corporate Body, not divided into Manors among the particular Incumbents) and while this noble Exclusion of private Wealth, Luxury and Poverty continued, which it did for above seven Hundred Years, *Sparta* was the most respected, the most invincible Nation in *Greece*, of whom it was justly said, that they never asked



asked how many their Enemies were, but where they were. But at last arose *Lyfander*, an Hero of the modern Cast, who placed political Wisdom in Fraud, Perjury, and little Tricks, which he bragged had seldom failed him in piecing out his Lion's Skin with a Fox's, whenever it proved too scanty. Well, what mighty Feats did this Craft's-master perform? His City was Master of *Athens* by War and of *Thebes* by Treachery, he got Money from *Cyrus* to support *Sparta* in the Dominion over *Greece* by mercenary Troops, he sent immense Wealth Home also from *Sicily*, which instead of preserving the Sovereignty of *Greece* to them, melted down all the rigid Virtue of seven Centuries, and in about a Score of Years *Epaminondas* at the Head of *twenty thousand Bæotians* defeated the *Spartan* Army of *thirty thousand* Men with their King at their Head, who fell there and expired with the Glory of his Country, which never raised its Head afterwards but for a short Blaze, like a Comet, under *Cleomenes*, and that by the Revival of *Lycurgus's* Institution, and this I call the second Miracle of History; from which two we may draw a much sounder System of Politicks, than from your *Machiavels*, *Richelieus* and much smaller Dealers in low Artifice, who have succeeded them in most Courts of *Europe* ever since, except that of *England*, which has often confounded me with Astonishment, how *France* can be said to have gained a Superiority over

E

us,

us, *credat Judæus Apella non ego*. The brutal Lust of Princes abolished the regal Government and the Decemvirate in *Rome*, drove the *Macedonians* out of *Parthia*, brought the *Vandals* into *Italy*, the *Moors* into *Spain*, the *Danes* into *Northumberland*, and the *English* into *Ireland*. *Mithridates* might have introduced a *Roman* Discipline, and made Head against the Fortune, Valour and military Skill of *Sylla*, *Lucullus* and *Pompey*, but his Lust and Cruelty made his People detest and dread him, made *Archelaus* and other Generals desert, his Ministers betray, and his own Sons revolt against him ; nay after all these Losses and Defeats he might have made *Rome* tremble, but for the Mutiny of his Army on the Discovery of his intended Expedition into *Italy*; *Xenophon*, *Epaminondas* or *Hannibal* had led them to the Walls of *Rome*. And I doubt not but *Alexander* had been followed over the *Ganges* by the same Troops who followed him over the *Granicus*, but for his senseless Pride, Riot and Cruelty ; and that they too were debauched, as well as disgusted, by the bad Example of their Prince, the Luxury and Wealth of *Persia* and *India*. I as little doubt but *Julius Cæsar* had carried his Legions through *Asia* to the Coasts of *Japan*, as he did into *Britain*, had not his Assassination prevented it ; and what *Trajan* did, shews that he only wanted Youth to have gone beyond *Alexander* in Conquest as he did in Virtue, and that neither Rivers, Enemies nor the Disobe-

Disobedience of his own Men would have stop-  
ped his further Progress. His Successor *Adri-*  
*an's* Wisdom and Moderation made him apply  
himself to improve rather than enlarge an over-  
grown Empire, and certainly his fourteen Years  
Circuit through it, to visit and redress the Griev-  
ances of every Province, in each of which he  
left Monuments of his Magnificence, many of  
which are extant at this Day, was the most ex-  
quisitely refined, noble and philosophick Taste  
of Luxury the World ever was acquainted with.  
The great Body of *Byzantine* History, every  
national History will teach us that Empires al-  
ways fall by intrinsic Failures, by the Caprice,  
Negligence, moral Defects, slender Abilities,  
narrow Views and feeble Craft of those nimble  
Shifters of Scenes and dextrous Forgers of  
Expedients to serve little Turns, who have  
of late usurped the Character of Politicians.  
In *France* the stupid Luxury of their first Race  
of Kings had long put both the Crown and  
Nation in Pupilage to the Mayors of the Pa-  
lace; Ministers indeed have generally asserted  
in all Nations as good a Right as Prescription  
can give, to make a Property of their Masters  
and the real Interest of their Kingdoms, but  
except in this which *France* supplies us with,  
*Nullum tempus occurrit Regi*, for here *Plectrude*  
the Widow of *Pepin d' Heristal*, claimed and  
carried the Guardianship of King *Dagobert* the  
Second, in Behalf of her Grandson *Theobald*  
an Infant in his Cradle, and the third *Pepin*,

another Grandson of the above mentioned *Pepin*, put an End to the Farce of a Mock-King, and assumed the royal Title, his Predecessors having long before exercised the Authority. Pretty much such another Revolution happened about five hundred Years afterwards in *Egypt*, when the *Mamaluke* Sultans abolished the *Caliphate* and arrogated the Supreme Power to themselves; but that Form of Government continued as it began, military and elective, whereas the Mayor of the Palace, you see, was a Pretender to hereditary Right. *Charlemagne* was a great Man, but a Series of weak and corrupt Princes, for the most Part, swayed the Sceptre from him to *Charles* the Sixth, who was deservedly called the Simple, to be whose Governor and his Kingdom's *Burgundy* contrived the Murder of *Orleans*, whose Nephew the *Dauphin* had *Burgundy* murdered in Revenge; young *Burgundy* enters into Alliances with *England* to revenge his Father's Death, otherwise our *Henry the fifth* had reaped no Laurels at *Agincourt*, nor had He or his Son after him been crowned at *Paris*. *Charles the Seventh* was called the Victorious, which Title, in my Opinion, he deserved rather more for the Pragmatick Sanction than for expelling the *English* out of *France*, as that was his own Act, whereas the other was chiefly the Work of the Count *de Dunois*. *Lewis the Twelfth* was the very wisest and best of all their Kings, he most judiciously lamented the State of *France* under his



his Successor, from whose Vices he foretold with a Sigh, *après ma mort ce gros Garçon gâtera tout* ; this was He who with his two grand Rivals *Charles the Fifth*, and *Henry the Eighth*, made up a triumvirate of *fanfaron* Heroes. Tho' hardly any Reign ever abounded with more fatal Disasters, yet as they may, for the most Part, be imputed to his Mother's Amours and his own, I will give you a short but full History of *Le Roy François, le grand Roy François* as the *French* affect to call him, and fancy they speak Sense when they do so. The old King was married to a beautiful Princess, this *Francis* was presumptive Heir to the Crown, yet was with great Difficulty restrained from prosecuting an Intrigue that he had begun with that Queen, which would have placed an Heir apparent between him and it. The first wise Step he made was to fill his Court with Ladies, and to introduce them into all the Schemes and Parties of it. He put a cast Mistress of his own on his Son and Successor, whom he married to the politick *Catherine de Medicis*, who filled *France* with Wars, Poisonings, Assassinations, Treacheries, Massacres and every Wickedness, for fifty Years together, with a long Train of dreadful Consequences not easily removed in any Nation. *Louisa of Savoy* was this King's Mother, from whom he seems to have taken his Understanding, his Virtue and his whole Complexion ; she had as much Ambition as Love. *Lautrec's* Sister

was of the same Cast, and ruled the Monarch's Sceptre by playing with his Heart; she easily set her Brother at the Head of her Lover's Armies in *Italy*, which Post *Lautrec* filled with great Sufficiency. *Louisa* envied the Mistress her Share in the King's Councils, and judged that the shortest Way to remove her was to make *Lautrec* lose the *Milanese* and his Army; she seizes 400000 Crowns which was to be remitted instantly to enable that General to defend and inlarge his Conquests; her Measures were effectual as to the Defeat of *Lautrec* and the Loss of *Milan*, but alas, what was that to a Mistress? Had she sold *Milan* to the Emperor, one Tear had blotted out the Fault, one Smile had over-pay'd many Dutchies, and the World were well lost; such Peccadillos without Motives of greater Importance, such as a Decay of her Beauty, or a new Mistress, could not have involved her in another's Disgrace, any more than the repeated Treacheries of the Dutchess *d'Estampes* were able to remove her afterwards from his Councils, tho' she had brought the Emperor into the Heart of *Champagne*, where his Army might have perished had not that Dutchess betrayed *Epernai* and *Chateau-Thierry* into his Hands, with the vast Magazines the King had laid up in them, and all this in Spite to the Dauphin, because he was governed by *Diana of Poitiers* his Father's *quondam* Mistress, whom *d'Estampes* mortally hated. But to return to Regent *Louisa* and her heroick Son;

Son; *Lautrec* is chid for losing the fine Dutchy of *Milan*, he retorts the Blame from his wanting the Money demanded and promised; *Semblançay* the Treasurer is sent for, he declares that the Queen took the Money out of his Hands, which she could not deny, but declared she meant no Harm by it; so *Lautrec* is acquitted, *Semblançay* is hanged to indemnify the Queen, and some Time after *Semblançay* is declared innocent, so there's full Amends made to him and his Family, you know, and all's well again so far; and as for *Milan* his Majesty will go in Person, gather fresh Laurels in *Italy* and recover *Milan* and *Naples* too, and perhaps might have done so, had not his Mother made him lose all a second Time, his Liberty and almost his Kingdom with it. She loved the Constable of *Bourbon* and would have had him marry her, which he slighted; this provoked her to Rage, and she raised such Storms against him from the King, that he was forced to save his Life by a very difficult Escape out of *France*, and throw himself on the Emperor's Protection, who put him at the Head of his Armies in *Italy* against his Prince and Country, for whom he formerly commanded in the same Place with great Conduct and Success. Well, to *Italy* he marches with the Flower of *France*, managed the Campaign, the Siege and the Battle with his usual Wisdom, is taken Prisoner by his own Subject, whom he and his Mother had forced out into Rebellion; but all these Losses did not  
in

in the least abate his Pride, tho' they 'did his Joy, as you may see by his Letter to his Mother, *Madame tout est perdu hors l'honneur*. How could he lose Honour who had killed seven Men with his own Hand in that Battle, which the Enemy won intirely by his Fault? But if common Sense or common Honesty are any Ingredients in a royal Character, he lost more Honour than any Thing else, by his whole Conduct before, in and after his Imprisonment. The passive philosophick Courage of a *Socrates* making no Part of a fighting Hero's Magnanimity, which is a Composition of Pride and Fury; his Majesty had like to have died of the Pip at *Madrid*, so that the Emperor was afraid of losing his Prisoner's Ransom, and therefore gave him Liberty on the Security of Treaties, Oaths and Hostages; his Ransom *Francis* discharged with a Quibble, by Way of sheer Wit and good Casuistry, to his own Treasurer, at a Country-house he built to call it *Madrid*, and made a grand Entertainment to his Mistresses and to all his Court, who were authentick Witnesses of his Payment of it in Person at the Day appointed. He after sent an odd Challenge to the Emperor for taxing him with Falshood, and used an Expression which has done and still continues to do more Mischief than is possible to be done by any one the — worst Prince living — viz. That no Man ought to be reputed a Gentleman, or allowed to wear a Sword, who would not endeavour to cut the  
Throat



Throat of any Man with it who should dare to call him a Liar. This gave Birth to that corrupt Custom of private Duels, and all the nice Doctrine of Affronts and metaphysical Laws of Honour, which has shed more Blood in the several Kingdoms of *Europe*, than has been spilt in the most destructive War, and which no Prince has ever since been able to abolish in his own Dominions. Yet if we look into *Guicciardin's* Account of this Matter (in which he is very particular, and whose Word I had rather take than either the *French* or *Spanish* Historians) he came very scurvily out of the Affair, and has left his fine fantastical Point of Honour to be fought for by those who have more Stomach to it, through all succeeding Generations. We have brought him so far down through the Series of his glorious romantick Atchievements, which as they must have drained his Exchequer exceedingly, it required his utmost Stretch of Genius to recruit: Besides many shrewd Inventions which the Subjects of *France* have ever since rejoiced in, his Top Project was to sell all the Offices of Judicature in his Kingdom, by which indeed he raised immense Sums, but it was but for once; all he wanted or cared for was that it might last his own Time, for no other King of *France* can ever draw any more that Way, or redress what has been already done, as the Cardinal *DeRichelieu* acknowledges and bemoans in his *Testament Politique*, as a very lamentable but

irretrievable Grievance, notwithstanding his Genius so fertile in Resources, and his vast Ambition to accomplish arduous Things. And perhaps this Monopoly of Justice is that which makes the *Gens de Robe* not esteemed Gentlemen in *France*, notwithstanding their vast Wealth, Power, and *Lewis le Grand's* Edict of Re-habitation in their Favour, which they purchased with a very great Sum. I should not have forgiven myself if I had forgot the Concordate, which *Leo the Tenth* bubbled him out of, by which he subjected his Kingdom to a most expensive foreign Tyranny, at a Time that several other Princes were about throwing it off, and contrary to the Remonstrances of his Parliaments, and the Request as well as Interest of the rest of the Nation; and it required all his Authority and Address for several Years to get it accepted in any Manner. But poor Creature he was the Dupe of every Conference, as *Charles V.* found after all the Tricks he had put on him and ill Usage given him in his Passage thro' *France*, when he blabbed all the secret Engagements he and *Henry VIII.* had entered into against him, which cost him a new Breach with *England*, which might have proved fatal to him; and puts me in mind of just such another Hero, *Mark Antony*, who betrayed *Salvidienus* and his other Adherents within *Augustus's* Quarters, to him, in their Conference at *Brundisium*, which cost them their Lives, and him his Share of the World. *Henry of Navarre,*

*Navarre*, afterwards the Fourth of *France*, might have ended the Civil Wars with the Victory at *Coutras*, could he have been persuaded to improve it by marching up to *Paris*, instead of abandoning his Friends, and all his Interests of every Sort, to throw himself and the Standards taken in Battle at the Feet of *Madam de Guiche*; and it is thought on good Grounds that his scandalous Passion for the Princess of *Conde* gave Occasion for taking away his Life by the Knife of *Ravillac*. *Frederick* Elector *Palatin* locked up more Gold and Silver in Iron Chests during the Winter he fancied himself King of *Bohemia*, than would have been sufficient to carry the War to the Gates of *Vienna*, could he have prevailed on himself to part with it; he refused a Body of some thousand *Swedes*, for the Fellows expected Pay, and so the Monarch received his Enemies with a very feeble Resistance at the Gates of his own Capital, out of which he and his Family hardly escaped; and the Emperor raised an hundred thousand Men with the Money the other had so providently hoarded up for him. Had he been taken, I do not suppose that the Emperor would have served him, as *Hoalon* the *Tartar* did *Musfeazem* the last *Caliph* of *Babylon*, have locked him up in his Treasury to feed as long as he could on that Wealth, which he would not use for the Defense of his Empire and City. I imagine that *Frederick* was of the Opinion of one *Tindal*, who crammed all his legal and classical

Learning into a Latin Argument to prove, that *Qui non habet Ærarium non est Rex*, and if so, why should he depose himself six Months sooner than it was possible for the Emperor to do it, besides losing that half Year's Salary? It was his Son *Rupert* who gained most of *Cromwell's* Victories over King *Charles the First*, and irretrievably ruined him at *Marston Moor*, *Bristol*, and *Naseby*. Had this same *Rupert* owned his Marriage, and a Son he had by a Lady of Virtue and Quality, whom the Princess *Sophia* always acknowledged as her Brother's Wife, he had prevented the *Palatinate's* falling into the House of *Newburg*, and perhaps a general War in *Europe* to hinder *Berg* and *Fuliers* from coming into that of *Sultzbach*. Had he had a Foresight of the just Views and avowed Declarations of a very considerable Party in *England*, so early as the Rejoicing for the Birth of *Charles the Second*, 1630, (which *Heylin* mentions in his Life of *Laud*) that it never would be well for *England*, till the Crown fell on the Head of a Prince of the Queen of *Bohemia's* Issue, he had perhaps acted otherwise; the hot, bold Author presumes to censure that oracular Scheme, which we have since seen accomplished with so much Glory and Happiness to these Nations, who are thereby become the Terror or Envy of all the rest of *Europe*. It was *Goring*, and not Sir *William Balfour*, who made the Retreat of *Essex's* Horse from *Cornwall*, when the King had penned up their  
Army,



Army, and brought the War to a Possibility of being ended triumphantly in a few Hours, if that General would have permitted it; but I might transcribe the greatest Part of the Histories that have been written, if I were to tell all.

But besides all this, the Regulation of the Instincts is as necessary to great Attainments in the abstracted, speculative Kinds of Knowledge, as to the Conduct and Happiness of social Life. An eager Curiosity, that Thirst of the Mind, is required to engage Men in the Pursuit of Learning, and Patience to persevere in it. Every indulged Passion makes War on the Understanding, either draws it quite off from intellectual Inquiries, or intercepts the Attention so much and so frequently, that the Progress is very insignificant,

*Qui studet optatam cursu contingere metam,  
Multa tulit fecitque puer sudavit & alfit,  
Abstinuit venere & vino.——*

Here we see the Reason why it is the middle Rank of Men, who monopolize the Sciences for the most part, half a Dozen Instances to the contrary since History began, if so many there be, are altogether anomalous, and confirm the Rule. They who are above and they who are below Education, as too many Princes and almost all Beggars are allowed to be, are also as much above and below shame; the first Rank sets the Fashions, and the other is not taken into them. Men make court, for all their  
their

their Designs, to the Passions of those on whom their Fortunes depend, and as Men approach nearer to either of the two Extremes, they give themselves up intirely to their Instincts ; they think with them, and live only for them ; and notwithstanding the mighty seeming Distance between these two States of Life, there is not any other Parallel which strikes me more strongly than this does, in the words of the ingenious *Butler* :

*Extremes of Glory and of Shame,  
Like East and West become the same.*

Madness seems to be nothing else but brooding so long over one Passion, that the Mind has lost the Faculty of entertaining any other : And here we might find Room for many curious Inquiries into the Nature and Force of Discipline, and how much even these natural, these animal Impulses, depend on Institution and Habit, as to their Direction and actual Employment, and perhaps go a good way towards proving that every Man living might once have been a *Spartan* or *Sybarite*. It is chiefly from the Passions that the Characters are drawn, that stupendious Variety of Representations, which human Nature exhibits : What other Difference between *Hercules* and *Geryon*, *Theseus* and *Procrustes*, *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, between the Hero and a Banditto, between the Man of Honour and — ? But taking leave of the unnurtured both of high and low Degree, as  
being

being far out of the Reach of all Advice, I will conclude, all that I think proper to say of the Instincts and Affections at this Time, in those admirable Rules which *Lucan* has put into *Cato's* Character, and which would raise any other Man to the Level of him, or even of *Socrates*,

—————*Servare modum, finemque tueri  
Naturamque sequi, Patriæque impendere vitam,  
Nec sibi sed toti genitum se credere mundo.*

We are now come to the third and last Inlet of our Knowledge, conveyed to us by Language, by which we are enabled to make use of the Materials furnished us by the two former Inlets to a vast Variety of Purposes; no less than all the Mechanical Arts, all Mathematical and Physical Sciences, which are built on our Ideas of Sensation; all ethical Knowledge and Obligation, all the Institutions of Government, all the Mysteries of Law and of Politics, of which the Passions are the proper Objects; besides many other spacious Fields of abstracted, metaphysical and speculative Inquiries, which neither of the two former can let us into, or give us the least Prospect of. Many of the brute Species have some of their Senses, and all of them some of their Instincts much more acute than we have, some of them have Instincts which we want altogether; so that when Men are utterly destitute of Speech, and in course, of Reason and social Help, they are more indigent, helpless and unknowing than many whole Nations of Brutes, Bees, Wasps, Pismires,

Pismires, Beavers, all, in short, who live in Community, and several others who do not. These acute Senses, stronger, and even different Instincts in any of the irrational Species of Animals, are exactly adapted to the Wants of each particular Species, but would not by any Means fit us, would not be consistent with the Culture of the third Inlet of Knowledge, of which I will name but one Instance, since every Man can add as many more as he pleases: If a Man had the quick Hearing and the perpetual Fears of an Hare, how could he ever lend a patient Ear and attentive Mind to the Instructions of his Teachers, or keep his Eyes and Observation closely fixed on a Book?

*Pectora nostra duas non admittentia curas?*

Now the Question is, how we came by this third Inlet? Whether we fell on it by Chance, contrived it ourselves, or received it from our Parents and Neighbours? Every Man can easily answer this Question, by recollecting how he got his Mother-Tongue, under what Master, and by what Grammar he learned his Greek, Latin, or what other Language he is Master of; and surely he may and ought to conclude, how every other Man learned that which he speaks or understands; therefore he must be convinced that it is so; that it cannot be otherwise, till he sees Men speak Languages at Sight, which they never heard or studied before. And since Language is artificial, for

no



no Man in his Senfes will fay that Words are native Marks or Signs of Things, and ſince Ratiocination is the Art of Thinking, and Logick moſt rightly ſo defined, I cannot but look on the common Definition of Man, as *Animal Rationale*, to be ſomewhat defective. I think it might be altered for the better, though that would not be complete, to define him *Animal Rationabile*, if *Rationabile* may be allowed to ſignify the Capacity of receiving, and not the actual Exerciſe of Reaſon: In which acception of the Term, I think, *Quintilian* will bear me out, by this Quotation from L. 2. *Sed quia Sermone carent quæ id faciunt, muta atque irrationabilia vocantur.* And afterwards, L. v. Cap. 11. *Nec ſi mutis finis voluptas, rationabilibus quoque.* *Horace* ſays that all Mankind, at firſt, was *mutum & turpe pecus*, as the poor Savages in *New-Guinea*, *New-Holland* and other Places are at this Day, and muſt continue ſo, until ſome more civilized People ſhall ſettle Colonies among them, and teach them the Uſe of Speech, and the other Arts of ſocial Life. I do not mean that the preſent Race of grown Savages can be humanized thoroughly, the Children and the growing Generation might; but as Youth is the Seed-time for all the Sciences, but eſpecially for Languages, there is an Age beyond which they are not to be planted with any Proſpect of Fruit. Human Savages are ſometimes found in the Foreſts of

G

*Poland,*

*Poland*, which have been dropt there Children in the Incurfions of the *Tartars*, whom it is difficult to teach to walk erect, and impoffible to teach fome of the elder Ones Language, and confequently Reason. Several Inftances of fuch Savages are to be met with in the *Polifh* Hiftories, and Dr. *Connor* gives us fome in the fecond Volume of his Account of *Poland*. And as to the Sciences there are almoft as many Inftances of blind Men that are Mathematicians, as of tolerable Scholars who had not laid an early Foundation; we know of three fuch, *Didymus* of *Alexandria*, *Diogenes* of *Constantinople*, and the late eminent Dr. *Sanderfon* of *Cambridge*. It is an Idiom in all Languages to exprefs an irrational Animal, to call it a poor dumb Creature, and *Lucretius* did very well to join the rational Capacity of Man to his Tongue,

*Eximiam natura dedit linguamque capaxque  
Ingenium.*—————

The *Greeks* ufe the fame Term, *Λογος*, for Speech and Reason, for the *Sermo internus* & *externus*; and for that Reason, feeing and hearing are called the Senses of Discipline, becaufe they only can convey Words to the Mind. Words which are the neceffary Vehicles of Thought, or as *Plutarch* very juftly expreffes it, in his excellent Treatife of Education, Vol.

ii. P. 12. of the *Paris* Edition in *Folio*. ὅμως  
 γὰρ λεγὸς τροφή διανοίας ἐστίν, Words are the Food  
 of the Understanding. I cannot help observ-  
 ing by the by, that there is perhaps the strong-  
 est Analogy between the Nourishment of the  
 Mind and of the Body, that is to be met with,  
 the Degrees of Appetite with which each is  
 received, the Choice and Quantity of the re-  
 spective Aliments and their various Concoctions  
 in order to an Assimilation, into the Substance  
 of each. Some Animals want some of the  
 Senses, most Animals have but one Stomach,  
 yet some of them can digest Bones: Ruminat-  
 ing Animals have four Stomachs, every Bird  
 has two but the *Cassivare*, and Men have one  
 Faculty for the Reception and Digestion of  
 intellectual Food which all other Animals  
 want. I can't help observing here, that the  
 much slower Growth of Men's Stature and  
 Strength than of any other Animal is neces-  
 sary, to allow sufficient Time for the Nourish-  
 ment and Culture of their rational Faculties in  
 the Acquisition of Knowledge; too forward a  
 Spring leaves little or no Fruit for *Autumn*,  
 and *præcox Ingenium* is a proverbial Observati-  
 on in every System of Education; all Things  
 have their proper Seasons, and whether in the  
 vegetable, animal, or rational World, what is  
 forced beyond its natural Strength seldom, if  
 ever, arrives at a sound Maturity. And these  
 Analogies will also furnish us with a Rule  
 G 2 how

how to ascertain Analogy in other Cases, viz. Where we blend two Things or Subjects together, which are conveyed to our Minds by different Inlets. I mean the Logical Analogy of Attribution, not the Mathematical one of Proportion which is conversant about the relative Modes, which Subjects of the same kind bear toward each other, whereas the first either applies to, or explains, by the known Attributes or Properties of one Subject, those of a different Sort or Species as well as Degree, which could not be so well known, or perhaps not at all, without such Allusion, Comparison, or Illustration. I do not think that it would be altogether a trifling Inquiry in Logick, to state that Matter at large, and in every Particular, but that not being my present Business I return to what is so. Pursuant to this Observation of the Growth both of Mind and Body by proper Food, the old Philosophers were used to call their Schools the Shops where Physick was to be bought for the Mind,

*Fervet avaritia miserave cupidine pectus?  
Sunt verba & voces quibus hunc lenire dolorem  
Possis, & magnam morbi deponere partem.  
—Sunt certa piacula quæ te  
Ter pure lecto poterunt recreare libello,*

as if they wrought like a Charm and perfected the Cure at once, and so they do sometimes. *Alexander*



*ander* was the most violent, dissolute young Man in *Sparta*, he struck out one of *Lycurgus's* Eyes, was sent by the Citizens to *Lycurgus* to punish him in what manner he pleased; *Lycurgus* received him as a Pupil rather than a Criminal, and in a few Days sent him out of his House the most sober composed Man in the City, the most exact Copy, as well as greatest Admirer of the Virtues of that wonderful Man, who left *Sparta* in Possession, for above seven hundred Years, of that noble Character of *Δαμασιμβρολος*, the Tamer of Men, for *Horace* never was more in the Right than when he says,

*Nemo adeo ferus est ut non mitescere possit  
Si modo Culturæ patientem accommodet aurem.*

*Quintilian*, on these Principles, says, *Tantum ingenii quantum memoriæ*, and *Plutarch*, in the Essay lately quoted, says, that the Mythologists therefore did wisely in making Memory the Mother of the Muses: He observes farther that in the Arts and Sciences, a Concurrency of three Things is requisite, Nature, Reason and Use. Now by Reason here, says he, I would be understood to mean Learning, and by Use Exercise; of these, Learning assists Nature with the Principles, and Industry with the Exercise. If Nature be not improved by Learning it is blind; and again, here Nature resembles the Soil,  
the

*the Instructor of Youth, the Husbandman, and the rational Principles and Precepts which are taught the Seed. And all these, says he, I peremptorily affirm to have met and conspired to complete the Souls of those great Men Pythagoras, Socrates, and Plato.—And happy is that Man and beloved by the Gods, by whose Bounty they are conferred.—If you desire more of it, I refer you to the Treatise itself, which is, at least, as well worth the reading as any Thing that great Philosopher has left us. Thales the Milesian, the first Importer of Learning among the European Greeks, was fully sensible of this Truth, when he thanked the Gods for having made him a Man not a Brute, a Man not a Woman, a Greek and not a Barbarian: And Plato concluded his Life with a Thanksgiving to the Gods for having made him a Man, a Greek, and the Scholar of Socrates. I will close this with one Quotation from Aristotle, about the End of his seventh Book of Politicks. *πασα τεχνη και παιδεια το' προσλειπον βυλεται της Φυσεως αναπληρουν*, all Art and Discipline intends to fill up the Defects of Nature, to supply what is wanting. It were easy to heap Quotations to this Point, nay every Book writ for the Instruction of Men, and all pretend to have that View, is a Proof of the Position that we need it, as every Butcher and Cook is that we require daily Food.*

As

As I took notice that the common Definition of Man, *Animal Rationale*, appeared to me defective, as not sufficiently expressive of his true Nature, but full fraught with the Absurdity of innate Ideas, as if he came into the World with all his intellectual Furniture about him, whereas his Growth both of Mind and Body, is not only gradual but very slow, but the Mind much the most so, which is never too old to learn if it began young; I hold it absolutely necessary to make a distinction between mere Nature and Nature improved by Culture, between Nature drest and undrest. All Men, who know their Use and can procure them, wear Clothes, yet I could not allow *Animal Vestitum* to be, by any Means, not only a complete, but even a sufficiently discriminating Article between him and the brute Generation; because, as every Man is born naked, so we find in many Places Myriads of Savages who have not yet found out any Clothing wherewith to cover themselves. Had that been allowed a proper Definition, *Hobs* would have sent him into the World armed *Cap á Peed*, his Scimiter drawn, and Arm raised to assert his natural Rights by the Death or Conquest of every other Man; and *Cumberland* would have introduced him in a *Toga pura*, with the Olive-Branch held out in his Hand, and he bawling as loud as ever he could for his Life, for a Truce and a free Conference, in order to invent Languages, make Laws, and choose Magistrates from among them-

themselves, for the necessary Support and Comfort of social Life: Whereas really the poor Creature knows nothing of one or t'other, but just as he happens to be bred up, and he cultivates the Arts of Peace or War as he is applied to either, and sometimes both in their Turns. It seems very plain to me, that nothing ought to enter into the Definition of untaught Nature, but what every Individual of the Species is by its mere untaught Nature ready to do at all Times, and in all Places; or that what no Individual of an animal Species ever does at any Time, or on any Occasion, without long Culture, and in which the several individuals differ exceedingly from each other, not only as to the Dexterity of doing it well, but the Ability of doing it at all, such artificial Acquisitions are properly to be ascribed to Education which introduced them, and not to the mere animal Nature of that Species, not one of which ever arrived at it, but by reiterated Instruction, and a slow, laborious Progress. *Cicero de legibus* L 1. SS. 10. P. 37. Edit. Cantab. 1727. *Nil est enim unum uni tam simile, tam par, quam omnes inter nosmetipsos sumus. Quod si depravatio consuetudinum, si opinionum varitas non imbecillitatem animorum torqueret & flecteret, quocunque cœpisset sui nemo ipse tam similis esset, quam omnes sunt omnium: Itaque quæcunque est hominis definitio, una in omnes valet. Quod argumendi satis est, nullam dissimilitudinem esse in genere; quæ si esset, non una omnes definitio contineret*



tineret. Etenim ratio, qua una præstamus bel-  
 luis, per quam conjectura valemus, argumenta-  
 mur, refellimus, differimus, conficimus aliquid,  
 concludimus, certe est communis, doctrina diffe-  
 rens, discendi quidem facultate par: Nam &  
 sensibus eadem omnia comprehenduntur; & ea quæ  
 movent sensus itidem movent omnium; quæque in  
 animis imprimuntur, de quibus ante dixi, in-  
 choatæ intelligentiæ, similiter in omnibus impri-  
 muntur; interpretæque est mentis oratio, verbis  
 discrepans, sententiis congruens. No Philoso-  
 pher would define a Parrot *animal loquens*, though  
 it can be taught to pronounce several Words;  
 or put all the Tricks a Dog may be taught in-  
 to the specifick Definition of that Creature, for  
 how can that be a true specifick Definition  
 which takes in but a few of the Individuals  
 that compose it? In a Description of Dogs,  
 one might properly take notice of their Docili-  
 ty; so far as it reaches, it makes the valuable  
 Part of their Character; as a Dog may be  
 bred up to be a Blood-Hound, though without  
 understanding the Purpose he is applied to,  
 and our Ancestors the *Scythians* made great Use  
 of them in their Wars. But to return to the  
 human Definition, I hope I may by this Time  
 safely deliver it thus, *Homo est animal sermonis*  
*capax, eoque interprete etiam & rationis*, Man  
 is an Animal capable of being taught to speak,  
 and by the Means of Speech to reason also.

H

I was

I was just going to conclude with a few Quotations from Mr. *Locke*, when a Couple of others came in my Way, from which I thought I could clearly shew the Usefulness of distinguishing the different Canals or Avenues by which the Notices of different Things approach our Minds. *Sextus Empiricus* in several Places produces the Authority of *Democritus* in his Canons, to prove, *that there are two Kinds of Knowledge, one of the Senses, the other of the Mind; of which that by the Mind he calls Knowledge, accounting it that which may be trusted for the Judgment of Truth; that by the Senses he calleth dark and obscure, denying it to have any Certainty as to the Knowledge of Truth, &c.* There is more to the same Purpose in *Sextus Empiricus*, from whom this is literally translated, otherwise I should rather have expressed it thus—*There are two Kinds of Notices—of which he calls that by the Mind Knowledge—* But as he always uses the same Term *γνῶσις* throughout the Quotation, I let the Word Knowledge stand in the Translation though it is plainly equivocal, and signifies Idea of Sensation in one Place, and Notion or Science in another. The Author had discovered the Glimmerings of the Truth, therefore what was imperfectly understood must of course be indistinctly worded. Had he considered that different Objects give different Notices of themselves to the Mind, and by different Ways of Approach, he might clearly have shewn their Diversity,

versity, pointed out their Limits, and the Road which each of them must necessarily have taken to come at us.

I little expected to have look'd into, much less quoted any Thing from the Writings of a Divine in this little logical Essay, but a Friend shewing me a Passage or two which he had drawn out of a couple of Dr. South's Sermons, and left them with me for my Consideration, I was very well pleased with it, since it confirms me in the Persuasion of the Simplicity, Truth and Usefulness of the Principles I lay down, by shewing me what strange learned Blunders the greatest Men make, when they will soar out of Sight in Search of Refinements. I will make Use of the Passages without transcribing the Whole; I will mark such as are the Doctor's own Words; and that you may see that I have represented him fairly; I begin with that taken from the first of his two Discourses on 2 Thess. ii. 11. in the fourth Volume of the Edition in Octavo, from p. 358 to 363. The *Species sensibiles* and *Species intelligibiles* are Terms long known and used by Logicians, which Terms I chose to translate by Ideas of Sensation and speculative Notions; *upon their observing the vast Difference between the same Object, as it was sensible, and affected the Sense, and as it was intelligible, and moved the Understanding, they held the Necessity of another Principle without the Soul, to advance the Object a gradu sensibili ad gradum intelligibilem, and this they call'd*

*an Intellectus Agens.* But what this *Intellectus Agens* was, how it acted in this Operation, and enabled the human Understanding to apprehend speculative and abstracted Notions, and to apply sensible Objects to scientifick Purposes, they are not so well agreed, nor are altogether so clear as in shewing the Necessity of such an extrin-sick Principle. *Plato, and Aristotle after him (as borrowing it from him) and several of the most eminent of the Peripatetick School, both ancient and modern, hold, that this spiritual Light necessary to enable the Object to affect the intellectual Faculty, which yet the Object cannot give it self, nor yet strike or move the Faculty without it, is an Irradiation or Illumination of God, That supreme Intelligence (whose Body they say is Light and his Soul Truth) which shines both on the Object and the Faculty, and enables the Objects to affect the Mind, and the Mind to conceive intellectual Notions, and to draw scientifick Consequences from the Objects. For they inferr'd from the fifth Chapter of Aristotle's third Book περὶ ψυχῆς, that besides the native inherent Light of the Intellect (which yet is essential to it, as it is a Faculty made to apprehend, and take in its Objects after a spiritual Way) there is also another Light in the Nature of a Medium, beaming in upon it, by a continual Efflux and Emanation from the great Fountain of Light, and irradiating this intellectual Faculty, together with the Species or Representations of Things imprinted thereupon. [ This last Quota-*  
tion



tion is from the second Sermon of the third Volume, p. 55, 56.] Others of them have other Ways of endeavouring to explain it; some imagined, that they consulted the Honour and Dignity of human Nature by asserting, that though there is and must be an *Intellectus Agens*, yet that it is no more than a different Faculty of the same Soul, or a different Function of the same Faculty. But not to trouble you with any more of this Sort of Learning, which you understand so much better than I do, this is certain, that as there must be Objects presented to the outward Senses in order to strike them, and produce Ideas of Sensation, so it will be equally impossible to produce Notions in the Mind, unless the *Species intelligibiles* be placed in a proper objective View, and fairly laid before it for its Perusal, for *de non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem est Ratio*. Now all the Question is, by what Light, through what Avenue, and in what Vehicle they approach the Mind, and are received into it? The former Hypothesis (of an universal divine Illumination on the sensible Objects to make them productive of intellectual Improvements, and on the Mind to enable it to extract such spiritual Wonders out of them) is partly unintelligible, highly vain, dangerously enthusiastick, and false in Fact; for there are many Hundreds of ignorant, unspeculative Men for one that is otherwise; besides, that this Hypothesis does not provide Objects, proper Objects, true *Species Intelligibiles* for the Under-

Understanding, but only pretends to qualify it for grafting some scientifick Uses on sensible Objects, so that we are yet to look out for some other Harbinger to introduce, and some Clothing to make them, as I may term it, visible to the Understanding, and cognisable by it. Innate Ideas will answer no Purpose nor stand an Argument; but Instruction in and by Language will hold universally, will take in every Individual of the human Species through all that infinite Variety of intermediate Degrees, between the most learned and knowing Man that ever was, and the dumb Savage of the Forest: The true Principle is always simple and clear, and, for that Reason, too often over-look'd for elaborate Errors, with so very small a Mixture of Truth in them, that there is hardly enough to make them stick together; insomuch that it requires some Pains, if not Sagacity, to find it out, and separate it from the rest of the Trash. Nay, I can't see how this same Irradiation could work its intellectual Effect without Words; for the brightest Light, shining on a sensible Object, will not make it visible to a blind Man; much less will it create an intellectual Object for the Mind, or convey it without the Mediation of Language, let *Raymond Lully* say as many witty Things as he pleases on Fire's being the Parent of Motion, Life and Thought. Much less will I trouble you with the idle Dreams of the *Stoicks* on the Topick of Language, as if every Word in it were either a natural Sign of something,

or

or that there was a natural Reason, at least, why that particular Word was taken up, or offer'd itself to signify that Thing; as if Greek were the only Language in the World, or the first one; and a Spice of that Conceitedness seems to run through the *Cratylus* of *Plato*, though there are a great many valuable and curious Things in that Dialogue. This Whim of the *Stoicks* about their Words puts me in Mind of one somewhat akin to it among another Sort of Quacks, that every Vegetable has a sufficient Signature impress'd on it by Nature, to discover its good or bad Qualities by, not only whether it was esculent, medicinal or poisonous, but of what Sort, and to what Part the Good or Harm was to be done, Cephalicks, Stomachicks, Cardiacks, Hepaticks, Pulmonicks, &c. But I fear, that if Instinct did not Guard the brute Generation, and Culture the human, more would die by Poison in a Month, than ever were swept away by Murrain and Plague in a Year. I can hardly forgive the *Stoicks* for pretending to take away the Instincts by their Philosophy, and accounting so wretchedly for Language, which is another and the most considerable of the three Inlets of Knowledge. The *Stoicks* were the most proud uncomfortable Sect of all the *Sophists*, yet *Seneca* prefers them without Hesitation to all their Gods, for this wise Reason, that the Gods can't help being good, but their wise Man is good in Spite of himself and the Gods too, *Victrix Causa Diis placuit, sed victa Catoni*; and  
in

in the demure Pride and sullen Triumph of his Victory consists his infinite Glory and Reward, and he rejects the Offer of any other with Scorn. Yet this same *Seneca*, if he is not foully bely'd with *Agrippina*, was as errant a Debauchee as *Aristippus*, who, being a jolly Companion and loving the Diversions and good Chear of a Court, profess'd the Vices of the Company he kept, to which *Seneca* added Hypocrisy and Avarice. All *Seneca's* Wealth would be but a *Species sensibiles* to *Æsop's* Cock; a curious repeating Watch is no more, to the Beast or mere Savage; to a Child it is a pretty Play-thing, to a fine Lady it is a Trinket at her Side, to which other smaller ones hang; to the Beau it is a Memorandum to pull out to shew that he has it, as also an Affignation on his Hands which it puts him in Mind of, it is his Companion to speak to him when he is alone, and to tell what o'Clock it is when he can't sleep of Nights; others consider its Use, and that it is a fine Piece of Workmanship, but not one of a thousand knows its constituent Parts, and the mechanical Principles by which they are put together; and I was told of a very brave Highlander who dash'd a Watch he had taken in Battle on the Ground, and kill'd the little purring Animal to make a Snuff-Box of its Shell. Having mention'd a Watch, I can't avoid just hinting on the exceeding slow Progress of many Arts, if not all; Pocket Watches are not of long Standing, Repeating Clocks are not near an hundred Years old, Repeating

I

Watches



Watches not above two or three and fifty Years, the Orrery but about twenty. Whether we look to manual Arts, as Painting, Sculpture, Building, or to the Exercises and Operations of the Mind, we shall find them all owing to Instruction, Pains taken with the Learners and by them, Encouragement, Emulation and much Time to bring them to such Perfection as they have arrived at. *Diodorus Siculus* says expressly, that there was not one fine Building in *Egypt* till *Sesostris* introduced them, wherever he learned his Skill; and *Augustus* boasted at his Death, that he had found *Rome* of Brick but left it of Marble; and the fine Taste of Building began to decay soon after the Age of *Titus*, to revive a little under *Dioclesian*, and in the East afterwards under *Justinian*; and since the Revival of Arts about two Centuries ago in *Italy*, we find to this Day, the Style of Painting and Building of the different Schools very discernible among the Artists train'd up in them. The *Augustan* Age excell'd in every Art but one, Oratory, which expired with *Cicero* and the Common-Wealth, for the strong Reasons given by *Quintilian* or *Tacitus*, whoever of them writ the Dialogue *de Causis corruptæ Eloquentiæ*; the *Attick* Oratory flourish'd only while *Athens* was its own Sovereign; the *Macedonian* Dominion forced *Demosthenes* to kill himself, and Oratory to suppress its Voice in *Greece* for ever; for nothing succeeded after but little flattering Harangues, and poultry Declamations on fictitious

tious Subjects. There is Matter for more than an hundred *Pancirollus's* to write, *de Rebus inventis et deperditis*, or to shew that Institution and Encouragement set Industry at work just as they please, *sint Mecænates non deerunt Flacci, Marones*, and that the whole rational, scientific and moral Nature of Man, is that second one which Culture began and Custom has riveted; his intellectual Improvements are the Arts of speaking and thinking, and the very Terms, Ethicks in *Greek* and Morals in *Latin*, shew that they were derived from Custom.

It is now Time to produce Mr. *Locke's* Testimony against his Authority, which is so decisively urged for Ideas of Sensation, being the only Inlets of Human Knowledge; and I shall afterwards shew from Mr. *Locke*, how so acute a Reasoner came to fall into this Inconsistency with himself and with the Truth. First then, every Argument, which Mr. *Locke* uses to prove that there are no innate Ideas, serves as strongly against the Possibility of Men's attaining Language, which is declarative of Ideas and introductive of Notions without teaching. L. 1. c. ii. §. 23. p. 12. of his Essay concerning Human Understanding, fourth Edition printed by *Churchill*, 1700, he has these Words. *For, first it is evident, they have learned the Terms and their Signification; neither of which was born with them. But this is not all the acquired Knowledge in the Case: The Ideas themselves, about which the Proposition is, are not born with them*

*them no more than their Names, but got afterwards — we by Degrees get Ideas and Names. — When Children have, by repeated Sensations, got Ideas fix'd in their Memories, they begin, by Degrees, to learn the Use of Signs, and when they have got the Skill to apply the Organs of Speech to the framing of articulate Sounds, they begin to make Use of Words, to signify their Ideas to others: These verbal Signs they sometimes borrow from others, and sometimes make themselves, [ which, by the by, is only mistaking and pronouncing ill ] as one may observe among the new and unusual Names Children often give to Things in their first Use of Language. In the same Book, Chapter and Page, Section 10. We have Reason to imagine, that they [ viz. Brutes ] have not the Faculty of abstracting or making general Ideas, since they have no Use of Words, or any other general Signs. L. 2. c. 22. at Number 3, towards the Beginning of §. 9. p. 156 — which is the most usual by explaining Actions we never saw, or Notions we cannot see. — Had Mr. Locke attended sufficiently to this Expression of his own, he had perceived, and consequently made a great Distinction between Ideas and Notions, and the different Ways of coming by them; and that the History of past or Relation of distant Actions is knowable only by Words as Notions. But though Mr. Locke has here, and in some other Places, which I shall quote presently, acknowledged the Difference between Ideas and Notions, yet, in very many Places he uses the*

two Terms indiscriminately for each other very improperly ; I will give you one palpable Instance of it, ( besides his talking of Ideas of Spirits and Abstractions ) in the fourth Chapter of the second Book, he says, *by which Means we get the Idea of Space both from Sight and Touch,* and in the fifth Chapter, he says, *the Ideas by more than one Sense, are of Space, &c. —* Whereas by his own Way of proving it, he makes as discursive an Inference as can be from solid Matter and Motion, which, rightly consider'd, shews Space to be a Notion and not an Idea. We have an Idea of a solid Body both from Sight and Touch, we can see a Body move, we can measure the Distance between two Bodies, and we infer that Bodies must have some Place to be and move in ; but we neither see nor feel this same Thing call'd Space. I am far from denying the Reality of it, I allow the Justness of the Conclusion, that all Bodies are and move in something, and Space is as good a Word for that Something as any other. What its Nature or Properties are is not at all my present Business to determine ; but it is very plain, that it is not the Object of any Sense, pray of what Sense is it the Object ? Can there be an Idea of Sensation without a sensible Object ? Its being an intelligible Consequence drawn from Premises won't help him much. A Man born with a Cataract on both Eyes, and Sight given him at full Age, would soon determine the Question, and convince you that Space is not a sensible Object,



Object, by the Pains it would cost you to make him conceive Distance; and that the Sun was not as near him, and as much within his Reach as the Fire in the Chimney; a Schoolboy's Kite, with a Lanthorn and Candle at its Tail, has, no doubt on't, often pass'd with Folks, not far off, for a Star. In Page 235, Mr. *Locke* calls Language a *voluntary Imposition*. P. 237. *A perfectly arbitrary Imposition*. P. 247 l. 3. c. 4. §. 11. *Simple Ideas are only to be got by those Impressions, Objects themselves make on our Minds, by the proper Inlets appointed to each Sort. If they are not received this Way, all the Words in the World, made Use of to explain or define any of their Names, will never be able to produce in us the Idea it stands for. For Words being Sounds can produce in us no other simple Ideas, than of those very Sounds; nor excite any in us but by that voluntary Connexion between them and the Ideas we had made them stand for.* P. 255. l. 3. c. v. §. 12. *Conformable, I say, to this, we find that their Names lead our Thoughts to the Mind, and no farther. When we speak of Justice or Gratitude, we frame to ourselves no Imagination of any Thing existing, which we would conceive; but our Thoughts terminate in the abstract Ideas of those Virtues, and look not farther as they do, when we speak of an Horse, or Iron, whose specifick Ideas we consider not, as barely in the Mind, but as in Things themselves, which afford the original Patterns of those Ideas. But in mixed Modes, at least the most considerable*  
*Parts*

*Parts of them, which are moral Beings, we consider the original Patterns, as being in the Mind; and to those we refer for the distinguishing of particular Beings under Names. And hence I think it is, that these Essences of the Species of mix'd Modes are by a more particular Name call'd Notions, as by a peculiar Right, appertaining to the Understanding. P. 280. l. 3. c. 9. §. 1, 2. Mr. Locke makes a double Use of Words, the first for the recording of our own Thoughts — secondly, the other for the communicating of our Thoughts to others. Whereby, as it were, we talk to ourselves, those Thoughts that are recorded in our Memories. — P. 281. l. 3. c. 9. §. 4. Now since Sounds have no natural Connexion with our Ideas, but have all their Signification from the arbitrary Imposition of Men. — And the Section immediately following has these Words, Words having naturally no Signification, the Idea [I think that Notion ought to be added at least, according to his own Rule, quoted from the twelfth Section of the fifth Chapter of the third Book, p. 255.] which each stands for, must be learned and retain'd by those, who would exchange Thoughts, &c. — With Mr. Locke's good Leave, and by Mr. Locke's own Authority, I do assert over again in his Words taken from p. 247. l. 3. c. 4. §. 11. that simple Ideas are only to be got by those Impressions Objects themselves make — if they are not received this Way, all the Words in the World made Use of to explain, or define any of their Names, will never be able to produce in*

us the Idea it stands for; for Words being Sounds, can produce in us no other simple Ideas than of those very Sounds, nor excite any in us but by that voluntary Connexion between them and the Ideas we had made them stand for. — I have quoted this twice, and if Mr. Locke had consider'd it as often, besides such other Quotations as I have taken from him, and ten times as many to the same Purpose, which I could have taken, he had not continued to assert, that Ideas of Sensation were our only Source and Magazine of Knowledge; he would, he must have allow'd Notions their own Inlet, or Conduit Pipes of Words through the whole Essay, as well as in the Quotation last produced for the second Time, and p. 255. l. 3. c. 5. §. 12. also quoted before. I shall therefore add but a very few Proofs more from Mr. Locke, for the Truth against his own Hypothesis, p. 283. l. 3. c. 9. §. 9. *For if we will observe how Children learn Languages, we shall find, that to make them understand what the Names of simple Ideas or Substances stand for, People ordinarily shew them the Thing, whereof they would have them have the Idea, and then repeat to them the Name that stands for it, as White, Sweet, Milk, Sugar, Cat, Dog. But as for mix'd Modes, especially the most material of them, moral Words, the Sounds are usually learned first, and then to know what complex Idea they stand for, they are either beholden to the Explication of others, or (which happens for the most Part) are left to their own*

I

Obfer-

*Observation and Industry ; which being little laid out in the Search of the true and precise Meaning of Names, these moral Words are in most Men's Mouths, little more than bare Sounds ; or when they have any, 'tis for the most Part but a very loose and undetermined, and consequently obscure and confused Signification. P. 301. l. 3. c. 11. §. 1. Speech being the great Bond that holds Society together, and the common Conduit, whereby the Improvements of Knowledge are convey'd from one Man and one Generation to another. Mr. Locke uses the Expression of Conduit Pipes for Language to convey Notions, mix'd Modes or moral Words, from one Man to another in very many Places ; Nay, he asserts their Use even in thinking, for P. 302. l. 3. c. 11. §. 5. This Inconvenience (says he) in an ill Use of Words, Men suffer in their own private Meditations, &c. P. 304. §. 8. last Line, — if Men would speak intelligibly even to themselves alone. — I think, that Mr. Locke has spoken home enough to the Point for which I have produced him, so very home and full, that I should have been astonish'd at his persisting in his inviolable Attachment to the Senses and their Ideas, did I not consider the all-commanding Force of Hypothesis, which is able to overlook, or fancy that it can reconcile the most glaring Contradictions, and that the ingenious Author himself has let us into a great Part of the true Reason of it, p. 288. l. 3. c. 9. §. 21. Here Mr. Locke says, I must confess then, that when I first began this Discourse of the*  
Un<sup>a</sup>



*Understanding, and a good While after, I had not the least Thought that any Consideration of Words was at all necessary to it. — But when I began to examine the Extent and Certainty of our Knowledge, I found it had so near a Connexion with Words — that they seem'd scarce separable — Words interpose between our Understandings and the Truth, like the Medium through which visible Objects pass, — Language the Instrument of Knowledge. — Mr. Locke must not only have retracted an Hypothesis explicitly, which he had been many Years contriving and communicating in Conversation; and 1687, he publish'd his Scheme in a small Volume in French, and printed it in Holland; and he must have pull'd down the whole Fabrick, to have rais'd a new one of quite another Model in its Stead. Against this, almost all the Affections of the human Mind protested, Pride and Concern for his Character, paternal Indulgence and Unwillingness to throw down at once the Work of above half a Life towards the latter End of it. It was beginning a new Course of Study in one's old Age; so he thought he salv'd the Matter tolerably, by treating Words civilly when they came in his Way, and allowing them occasionally their full Scope and Office in conveying Knowledge to the human Mind, and that this would be sufficient to keep the Peace between them, whereas, he has really overthrown the Doctrine of the Senses being the sole Inlet of Knowledge, more effectually than he has done that of innate Ideas, even*

in the Sense he took them, and has open'd a most spacious Avenue through the Mediation of Words, by which, much the greatest, much the most valuable Part of our Knowledge arrives at us; all indeed that deserves the Name of Knowledge among Men, to which, even *Sextus Empiricus* assents, and produces the Authority of *Democritus* for it, notwithstanding the common Opinion that the *Scepticks* believed nothing, which would be full as impossible as the Stoical Apathy; they had heap'd up all the Instances they could think on, of the Fallibility of each of the Senses, and they often went too far in that Road; but several of their best Writers allow'd the Certainty of some intellectual Truths drawn from proper Principles; but it is no Part of my Task now, and probably never will be, to write a Vindication of any particular *Pyrrhonist*, or a Dissertation to prove it possible to represent the Hypothesis as not altogether irrational, on its Principles taken in their best Light.

Had Mr. *Locke* fallen on the Consideration of Language, and its several necessary Uses, *to name our Ideas, to receive, record, recal for our own Meditation, and communicate Notions from one Man and one Generation to another*; had he soon enough known, and attended to the Sense of a remarkable Parenthesis, which he has inserted in Pag. 276. l. 3. C. 6. § 51. in these Words (*especially the Beginners of Languages, if we can imagine any such*) he had not only avoided all Mistakes, and there

are some in it, but had also made that celebrated Book much more perfect and useful than ever it was represented by its greatest Admirers; and I heartily lament that he did not perceive *the near Connexion between our Knowledge and Words, so near that they seem scarce separable*, early enough to have taken Language in, and given it a Place from the Beginning among the Inlets of our intellectual Improvement, the Conduit Pipe of our Knowledge; his fine Genius would have sent it out into the World the most finished Piece that could be wished, when he was able to make so much of it with the Senses only; or wherever he brought in Words, it was not only inconsistent with, but utterly destructive of his Foundation Principle, of his grand Hypothesis, that our Senses were the only Inlets, and Ideas of Sensation the only Materials of all our Science, of all that we know, of all that we can be taught. I had much rather have had Cause to admire Mr. *Locke's* Performance, than to point out any Defects in it, I could lay my Finger on some of them, and shew that every one of them was occasioned by not considering Language all along as the Conduit Pipe of Knowledge; but he has taken Notice of it so often occasionally, and then asserted it so warmly, and proved it so strongly, that I hope, Sir, you think by this Time, that I have kept my Word as to what I promised in Mr. *Locke's* Name, and that you'll allow him to be a good Voucher for me. And I hope that

you will agree with me in this too, rather to take in the ingenious Author's later Discovery of Words (which he owns Pag. 288. l. 3. C. 9. § 21.) to correct the Mistakes and supply the Defects of an imperfect System, rather than to set his own riper Notions and more just Observations in Battle-array against the Tenour of the Work, and to overturn absolutely a most favourite Hypothesis. I have long observed that there is no maintaining half a Truth, either the Portion sustained will be given up in the Dispute, or the Whole must be assumed with an ill Grace, when one has been driven to retreat into it for Shelter; therefore let us allow Language to pass for one of Mr. *Locke's* Inlets of Knowledge, and add it to the other Inlets, which is the Design of Nature, and I think I have proved that it was so of this Author also.

If Language be not only expressive of Ideas, but *the Conduit Pipe by which Notions are conveyed from one Man and one Generation to another*, and that we cannot think, or as Mr. *Locke* elegantly Words it, *speak intelligibly to ourselves alone* without it; it seems to me a necessarily resulting Corollary, that could Men have invented Words (which I can by no Means grant) yet they could not have invented a Language, but only a few Words to call their Ideas of Sensation by, which are always prior to Words in every Man. Nor would such Words or Names for mere Ideas of Sensation  
be



be of any Significancy, since the true Use and Value of Words is to convey scientifick Notions to us, and to carry on the Commerce of Knowledge between different Men, and the different Generations of Mankind. Letters are the grammatical Elements of Words; and, as such, they are necessary for a Scholar to begin the Study of a dead Language; yet Words are as much older than Letters, as the Art of Writing is than that of Printing; wherefore I doubt whether any Man ever set himself to learn a new Language before Letters were found out; I am sure no Scholar ever did, for why or how should he do it? Should a Man forget all Language, which is possible, and perhaps some Instances might be found of it, no doubt the Words would carry off those Notions which they had formerly conveyed to them. Have you not known many who had made some Acquaintance with the Sciences in their younger Years; who in some Years after their leaving the University, have lost the Terms and all the little Philosophy they had learnt there? I will not deny that a Set of Men might frame a new Language, but not without having previously a Language to form it by, and, I should think also, Writing, to mark down and retain, for the Use of their Memory, such new Signs as they agreed were to stand for the old ones.

Mr. *Locke* has truly affirmed, as already quoted, that all the Words in the World cannot convey an Idea of Sensation to a Man who never had it.

Nay

Nay even where Art makes a great Part of the Thing to be known, no Words can supply what is sensible in it, so as to lay its Idea fairly before the Imagination ; as you may observe in *Felibien's* two Schemes of *Pliny's* Country-house, very different from each other, tho' both drawn from the same Description : And I dare affirm, that if an 100 Architects were set to the same Task, each of them would give us a Plan different from all the rest, and from *Pliny's* Country-house. And if Mr. *Locke* be right in this, as he certainly is, and in making *the voluntary, perfectly arbitrary Imposition of Words, the Conduit of Knowledge, the great Bond that holds Society together, the Instrument of Thought, by which we record our Notions, and speak intelligibly to ourselves ;* if Language, I say, be all this, as it certainly is, then it is as demonstrably true, that Language could not be a Concert, Contrivance or Invention among Men, as that the Effect cannot produce its efficient Cause, or (which comes to the same Point) the necessary Instrument used by the Cause in its Efficiency of that Effect. This I think an Axiom, which though it can't be proved by any Thing plainer than itself, yet it can be illustrated and laid before our Eyes in Instances and Examples. And I think that every Age and Nation, every Man that ever lived in any, every Thing that any Man knows, every Thing that he does not know, the *Greek* and *Barbarian*, the *Attick* flowing Eloquence and *Laconick* sullen Thrift

Thrift of Words, *Mithridates* with his twenty two Languages, and the *New Guinea* Savage with none, are all equally Proofs and Instances, as well as what I have quoted from Mr. *Locke*, that the human Mind is a *Tabula rasa*, that any Thing may be writ on it, and that it cannot have any Thing unless it be writ there, but will remain a Blank for ever; that there is a vast Variety of Inscriptions made on it, which shews that the Stuff must be the same, which is capable of receiving equally so many Millions of different Impressions,

*Colchos an Assyrius, Thebis nutritus an Argis.*

No doubt but in many Nations of the World, as well as *Egypt*, *Greece* and *Rome*, all Sorts of Forms or Impressions have in some Proportion been successively received, worn, effaced, renewed and blotted out again, tho' often for Want of History, the particular *Æras* and Circumstances of all these Revolutions in Arms, Morals, Arts and Sciences are lost to us. I have observed it in some other Subjects, that when one lights on the true Principle, it will hold every Particular that can be applied to it, which instead of being an Objection, however it may seem at first, or with what Intent so ever produced, rightly considered becomes a Part of the System, an Instance and Proof of it. Thus the immense Variety of Forms proves the Identity of the Materials, that is, that Man is capable of every Thing (according to our Way of speaking) in  
Learn-

Learning and Knowledge, by artificial Language and Instruction, and of nothing without it.

What I have said to you in Obedience to your Commands was always my own Opinion, when I considered how I was taught to speak and know. And I am as much pleased, that Mr. *Locke* found himself obliged to take in Words as the Inlet of Notions, as I am really grieved that he did not do it from the Beginning; because I find the distinguishing of the different Inlets of our Notices to be of Use to me in my Reasoning on most Subjects, and that I am persuaded, his Pen would have given us an elaborate Treatise on the human Understanding. I believe you'll hardly desire any more such long Letters as this, which you must read over out of mere Complaisance, since you have made me write it; but if you should desire another from me on the Application of these Principles to particular Occasions, you may command me, notwithstanding many troublesome Interruptions, which, during my whole Life, have been always breaking in upon the Course of my Studies and Thoughts, almost without Intervals, and those very few and short ones. But you may perceive by this the Power you have over me, and how much

I am

JA 68

Yours, &c.

PHILAETHES:



